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SOIL AND VEGETATION

134 The North China Plain is covered with a layer of alluvial soil. In colors ranging from light yellow to dark brown, the soil varies from saline to calcareous. Some parts of the plain are sandy. Along the coast of Hopei Province, the soil has a distinct saline character. The extreme north-eastern and the western parts of Hopei lie under deep layers of black and dark brown soil which are calciferous in nature. Light and dark brown calciferous soil cover most of the eastern portion of Shansi Province. The upper layer of this type of soil is usually lighter in color because of the loss of its calciferous content through erosion. It has a low humus content. In western Shansi, loess, a fine silt, spreads over the land, with a depth of 150 feet at many places. Loess is yellow-brown in color and calcareous in character. In the river valleys in Shansi Province, the yellow soil is predominantly alluvial.

137 241 Extensive cultivation in the North China Plain leaves very little land for natural vegetation. Kaoliang and wheat occupy most of the flat acreage, and orchards of pears, apples and dates which grow well in cool climate are planted on the surrounding hills. Semi-desert plants are found in northern Shansi Province. Trees of the mulberry family and hardy, slow-growing types cover central Shansi. Vegetable and fruit cultivation prevails in the river valleys.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1h,
~~Sociological~~ Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTIC WAYS OF LIFE

184 The Chinese imperial system was strikingly successful in fostering common basic attitudes among the peoples which it absorbed within its ever-widening sphere. Nevertheless local and regional sub-cultures, brought into the imperial order at different times throughout more than two millenia, did not lose all of their characteristic traits. The oldest center of "Chinese" civilization was in the fertile plain of the lower Yellow River valley. When, in the course of centuries, areas as diverse as the loess highlands of Shansi and the warm rich lowlands of the Yangtze were brought into the orbit of Chinese civilization, differences in climate, terrain, and folk culture meant that each of these areas preserved a degree of cultural distinctiveness. For example, the loess highlands made it possible for substantial numbers of people in Shensi and Shansi to live in man-made caves, while this kind of dwelling was unknown on the Yellow River plain.

241 At the same time there are factors which give to the area we are now considering important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture: from Southern Hopei, Honan

241 and Shantung into the whole of North China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, abosrbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. The characteristically Chinese agriculture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for
361 maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic
621 organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within easy walking distance of its center. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families with which his own has built an enduring pattern of reciprocal favors and obligations. It is in the farming village that the Communists are seeking to bring about fundamental changes in the way of life and to break up the old complex of family and local loyalties.

What are the common patterns of village life from the Yellow River plain to the loess highlands and mountains of Shansi? We shall sketch these before discussing variations represented by urban life.

voted to that subject. Here we should sketch the rhythm of village life and something of its annual cycle of activity.

The New Year holiday, for the people of China the first fifteen days of the year, is the main period of leisure for the villagers. Food is prepared in advance, and even the women may rest from their cooking during the first days of the holiday. The town is decorated with nien-hua (New Year's pictures) and ch'un-lien (paired New Year's Day mottoes). Visiting friends, and relatives, gambling, eating the best food of the year, wearing the best clothes, and indulging the children, make this the most festive period in the year. For many families it is the only time in the year when they can afford to eat meat dishes. The special dishes of the season vary from province to province. In the northern provinces chiao-tzu (meat dumplings) and other wheat-based elaborate dishes are particular favorites; as one moves south, rice-based delicacies such as nien-kao (year cakes) figure more prominently in the New Year's feasts. Besides being a time of celebration, the New Year is also the time for settling accounts; for many farmers there will be little left for celebration when the creditors have been dealt with.

The regular work of the agricultural year begins immediately after the New Year. In Hopei and Shansi, the farming cycle is governed by the need to conserve water and by the demands of the principal crops -- wheat, millet, and kaoliang.

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22/ 24/ In early spring, the Hopei and lowland Shansi farmer begins his year-long effort to conserve moisture that has accumulated in the soil during autumn and winter rains. About half the fields are then in winter fallow awaiting spring plowing; the rest are planted in winter wheat. Fertilizer from the household pit is spread on the fallow fields. The wheat is brought to maturity by careful hoeing and by hand irrigation using well water -- a back-breaking operation in which the farmer is helped by his whole family.

In April or May comes the time to plant his remaining fields in millet, kaoliang, or cotton; in the lowland areas he irrigates to assure the germination of seeds. It is then time to harvest the wheat, and once again the farmer calls on his whole family and often on his neighbors for harvesting, threshing, and winnowing, all done by hand with the greatest care to preserve every grain, stalk, and straw. Then the winter wheat land is planted in soyabeans and corn. The farmer and his family may then slacken their pace, but not for long, as autumn brings the harvest of the summer crops, the fall plowing, and finally the planting of winter wheat.

Autumn, too, is the traditional time for the tax collector to appear with his demands for taxes in money or in kind. And, before the Communist abolition of tenancy, it was the time when the landlord claimed his share of the crop.[3] If

3. For landlord-tenant relations in Anhwei, cf. Morton Fried, The Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953, pp. 186-200. Typical rent in 1947-48 was 40 per cent of yield.

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another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. Urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected.

No longer does he cultivate his land in the manner of his ancestors with the assistance of his family, his clan, and his neighbors. He no longer sets the periods of work and of rest. The Communist leadership is determined that the peasant shall be transformed in three ways: (1) he must be made to produce more; (2) he must become a politically conscious, active supporter of the Communist regime, and (3) his attitudes and values must be radically changed.

The instrument of this transformation, which is visible and active in the villages, is the Party cadre. Party cadres act as the eyes, the ears, and the mouths of authority.[13] "They are called upon to take the leadership in organizing production and to participate in all types of farm work, such as mobilizing the peasants for cultivation, teaching new farming methods, distributing new seed, performing grain requisitioning, helping in planting, building and repairing dikes, etc."[14] The village cadres have been mainly outsiders, "foreigners," but the Party has recently been recruiting youths from specific localities and training them to return there as cadres. The cadre was the instrument of land redistribution and brought into the countryside the first major change decreed by Peking. The cadre organized the Peasants' Association in the village and manipulated its meetings and its officers. It was the cadre who worked up sentiment and organized the "speak bitterness" meetings in the days of the Land Reform Movement -- occasions used to the full to attack the old familial order in the villages. It is the cadre who organizes the "struggle meetings" in which villagers

[13 and 14 next page]

241 654 668 are made to engage in criticism and self-criticism in order to undermine the old values and instill the new.

The cadres also pushed the organization of "mutual-aid teams" for the sharing of labor and equipment, an effort that struck at the familial organization of farm labor and apparently met with serious difficulties.[15] More recently the cadre has been the instrument for the concerted attempt to build producer co-operatives in the countryside. In such major efforts as the attempt to put Hunan rice farming on a two-crop basis (hitherto only done further south), the cadres were reportedly responsible for training 100,000 farmers.[16]

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13. Walter E. Gourlay, The Chinese Communist Cadre: Key to Political Control, Harvard, Russian Research Center, 1952, p. 25.

14. Ibid., p. 28.

15. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects of Communist China, Cambridge, 1954, p. 84.

16. Reported by New China News Agency, Changsha, April 20, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press (SCMP), No. 1036, April 28, 1955.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3a,
Economic Background

AGRICULTURE

• 241 A poem[1] describes the vast plains of Hopei and the plateau of Shansi:

> "Endless prairies beneath a brilliant sky,
> where herbs are seen when blowing winds
> bend low the grass so high."

The fertile plains of Hopei (and, to a lesser extent, the plateau of Shansi) have encouraged the development of agriculture in North China. The most remarkable feature of North China farming communities is the enormous production of raw cotton, which may constitute over 40 per cent of China's total output. Grain production is of only secondary importance in this region. And, unlike the regions of East China and Central-South China, few special crops are produced in North China.

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1. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, March 1, 1954, p. 20, as translated from China News Service, January 1954.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

area. Only 11.8 per cent of the total crop area was operated by renters. With 88.2 per cent of owner operation there would be very few of the problems resulting from landlordism and tenancy.

The number of crop mu reported was 15,044. The amount of double cropping therefore was 2,667 mu and the index of double cropping 121. Buck[1] in his land study gave the double cropping index for Hopei province as ranging from 125 to 155. For our three ownership groups there was but little difference in the index. The range was 117 to 124. The lowest was for the tenants, the highest for the part-owners.

We do not have an estimate of the amount of uncultivated and waste land held by the 400 families, nor do we have any figures giving the area of their houses. The latter, of course, were all in the villages and separate from the farm lands. In the 62 villages the cultivated land was 83.3 per cent of the total area; houses 4.7 per cent; roads, graves, and other uncultivated land 12.0 per cent.

A comparison of the averages of the different farm groups shows that many of the differences are directly related to the differences in the size of the farms; the amounts per mu are apt to be quite similar. That being the case, the figures for our 21–30 mu group, with an average farm of 25.6 mu, are probably much more typical for the 62 villages of the Experimental District and for all of Ting Hsien than the averages for the entire 400 families, whose average farm had 30.9 mu. Because of this difference in the averages we have given in the text many more figures for the different sized farm groups than would be the case if we were presenting the 400 farms as a typical and average group.

How the farms were distributed according to size and ownership is shown in Table 16. It will be noted that there were no part-owner or tenant families in the over 100 mu group and no tenant families in the 41–50 mu group. Only three tenant families had more than 20 mu. They operated different sized farms, so the three upper tenant groups had only one family each. Their figures, of course, cannot be taken as typical for those groups. For both the owners and part-owners, the largest group was the 11–20 mu group, 25 and 41.1 per cent respectively. Fifty-two per cent of the tenants were in the 1–10 mu group. Forty-five per cent of all the farms had from one to 20 mu. Their total area was only 18 per cent of the land. The 25 per cent of the families who had over 40 mu had 55 per cent of the land.

1. J. Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China* (University of Chicago Press, 1937).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Millet (ku-tzu) was the most generally grown crop. It was raised on all but two of the farms and was grown on 30.3 per cent of the crop mu and 36.8 per cent of the crop area. Glutinous and panicled millet were grown on a total of 3.9 per cent of the crop mu. The millets, therefore, were raised on just over one-third of the crop mu and 41.5 per cent of the crop area. The figures for both crop mu and crop area are given because of the 21 per cent double cropping.

Wheat and cotton were the next largest crops. Wheat was grown on 90 per cent of the farms and 9.9 per cent of the crop mu, cotton on 74 per cent of the farms and 9.1 per cent of the crop mu. Together they took 23.1 per cent of the crop area. The three crops, millet, wheat, and cotton, together accounted for 53.2 per cent of the crop mu and 64.6 per cent of the crop area.

Kaoliang, black beans, and sweet potatoes are the only other crops that had over five per cent of the crop mu. Sweet potatoes were grown on 95 per cent of the farms, black beans on 57 per cent. Rice was not grown by any of these families for only in another part of the hsien do springs provide the necessary water.

Sixty-two per cent of the crop mu and 75.2 per cent of the crop area were used for different kinds of grain.

Different varieties of beans, black, green, yellow, and white, were grown on 11.8 per cent of the crop mu. Root plants, sweet potatoes, peanuts, and turnips had 10.5 per cent. Miscellaneous vegetables were grown on 2.3 per cent and sesame on 4.3 per cent.

The millets produced the largest value, almost $35,000. Sweet potatoes were next with some $16,500. The cotton crop totaled some $15,000. Wheat was the only other crop valued at more than $10,000, but by-products, such as kaoliang leaves and stalks, bean vines, animal products, etc. were reported as amounting to $20,820.

Sweet potatoes, vegetables, peanuts, and cotton gave the largest return per mu, $16.20 for sweet potatoes, $10.95 for cotton. Green and white beans gave the lowest return, only $2.95 per mu. This, undoubtedly, was due to the fact that the beans generally were grown with another crop, kaoliang, panicled or glutinous millet. Those grains show a return of from $4.15 to $4.70 per mu, while the return from millet was $7.05 per mu and from wheat $9.10 per mu.

The farmers reported that they used 76 per cent and sold 24 per cent of the crops they produced. The chief money crops, judging by the pro-

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portion sold, were peanuts with 93 per cent, sesame with 92 per cent, cotton with 86 per cent, and wheat with 42 per cent. Green and yellow beans and buckwheat were the only other crops of which more than 8 per cent was sold. The bean figures were 15 and 18 per cent. The products sold represented a value of $33,330, an average of $83.30 per farm.

Cotton brought in the most money, $12,850; peanuts were next with $6,685, and sesame third with $4,590. Wheat with $4,435 and millet with $1,915 were the only other crops of which over $1,000 worth was sold. These five crops brought in some 91.5 per cent of the amount received. Complete figures are given for each crop in Table 25.

The proportion of the farm products sold increased as the size of the farm increased. For the owners it went from 12.5 per cent for the 1–10 mu families to 31.3 per cent for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the figures were very similar except that the 1–10 mu group sold only 7.8 per cent. The 1–10 mu tenant group reported selling 21.1 per cent of their crops, but the 11–20 mu group only 12.4 per cent. (See Table 26.)

Besides the crops used and sold, the families reported the sale of animals and animal by-products amounting to an average of $10.50 per farm. The amount was $[illegible].50 for the 1–10 mu owners and $19.20 for the over 100 mu group. The owner and part-owner averages were practically the same, $10.90 and $11.00. The tenants reported only $3.00 per family or less than one-third the average for the other groups.

Miscellaneous farm income added an average of $5.50 per family. There was also a reported increase in the farm capital of $16.95 per family during the year. This came from the saving of farm products, such as seeds and fertilizer, the unsold increase in the number of farm animals, etc. When these are added to the crop income shown in Table 25, the reported gross income of the farms totaled $149,282, an average of $373.20 per farm. For the owners it was $427.55 with the amount increasing from $83.50 per family in the 1–10 mu group to $1,392.80 for the over 100 mu group. The part-owners' average was $305.90 and the tenants' $174.65. Again the differences in the averages were almost entirely due to the differences in the size of the average farms. The gross return per mu varied from $12.00 for the owners to $12.25 for the tenants. In the different sized farm groups, the averages ranged from $11.25 per mu for the 41–50 mu group to $13.10 for the 31–40 mu group. There appeared to be some tendency for the amount

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per mu to decrease when the size of the farm increased beyond 40 mu, but it was not regular nor was the amount large.

The very small differences in the per mu averages for the three ownership groups and the relatively close agreement of the averages for the different sized farm groups seem to indicate that, on the average, the reports on the 400 farms have been reasonably complete and accurate.

Farm Expenses

The cost of farm operation, including the estimated value of the family and animal labor used on the farm, as well as the amounts spent for hired labor, rent, fertilizer, fodder, seed, taxes, implements, and house repair, totaled $63,359.20, an average of $158.40 per farm, $5.15 per mu. This was 42.4 per cent of the reported farm income. (See Table 27.)

The owner group reported the largest average expense, $166.10 per farm, and the tenants the lowest, $108.85. However, it was just the reverse for the expense per mu. That was $4.70 for the owners, $6.05 for the part-owners, and $7.65 for the tenants. The differences were largely the result of the rent paid by the tenants and part-owners. If we equalize the amounts by adding the rent value of the land owned by the owners and part-owners and the average hsien taxes on the rented land, the average cost of operation would be $8.45 per mu for the owners, $8.55 for the part-owners, and $7.75 for the tenants. If, on the other hand, we deduct rent and taxes from the different groups, the owner and part-owner costs were $4.60 and $4.70 per mu and the tenants' $3.90 per mu.

For the different sized farm groups the per mu operating cost varied from $4.00 to $5.45 for the owners, from $4.95 to $6.50 for the part-owners, and from $6.25 to $9.90 for the tenants. The lowest amount was usually in the 1–10 mu groups, the largest in the 11–20 or the 21–30 mu groups.

The value of the family and animal labor has been estimated and included as a farm expense. If these non-cash items are omitted, the money spent for the farm operation averaged only $59.00 per farm per year, or $1.90 per mu. Again, because of the rent item, the tenants had the largest average cash cost, $63.90. The part-owners' average was the smallest, $51.00. The owners spent $12.00 per farm more than the part-

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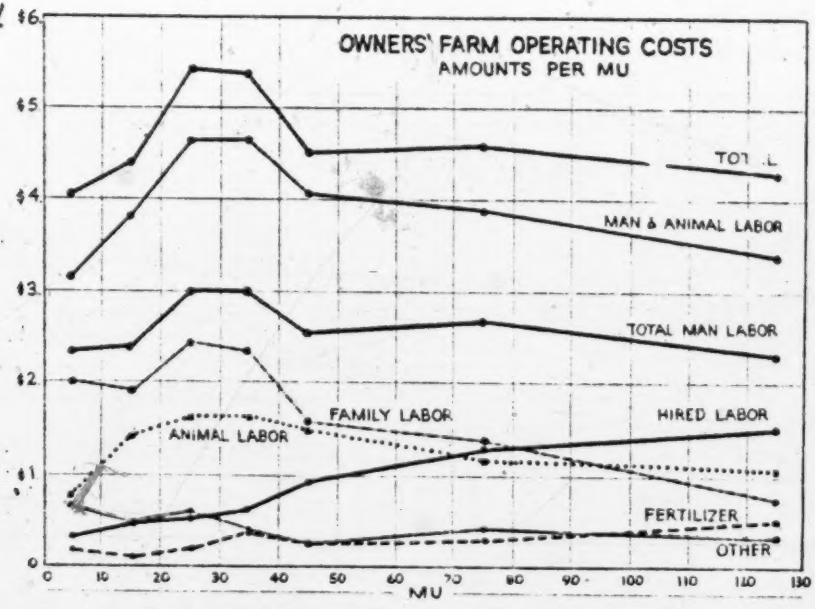

FIGURE 14. FARM OPERATING COSTS, 400 FAMILIES

owners, principally because of the 10 mu difference in the average size of the farms. The average cash outlay per mu for the three ownership groups was $1.75 for the owners, $2.00 for the part-owners, and $1.50 for the tenants. The 1–10 mu owners operated with an average cash expenditure of only $8.15 per farm per year.

If rent and taxes are omitted, as well as the non-cash items of farm expense, the money spent for farm maintenance and operation was only 72 cents per mu for the tenants, 70 cents for the part-owners, and $1.65 for the owners.

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The value per mu of the labor and other items applied to their land by the owners of the different sized farms is shown in Figure 14. As might be expected, the amount of family labor per mu ordinarily decreased and the amount of hired labor increased as the size of the farm increased. The larger expenditures reported by the 21–30 and 31–40 mu groups would seem to indicate somewhat more extensive cultivation by those families. The extra labor investment was reflected in larger yields. The average amounts for those two groups were both over $12.00

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per mu. For all but one of the other groups the amount was less than $1.00 per mu. The average was $1.20 per mu.

The amounts spent per mu for the different expense items by the three ownership groups are given in Table 27. For the average family only rent and labor (family, animal, and hired) amounted to more than $1.0 per year. For the three ownership groups only three items, again the amounts for rent and family and animal labor, were more than $1.00 per mu per year.

With no rent charge to meet, the owners could pay more for hired labor than the part-owners or the tenants. They paid $36.80 while the tenants paid an average of only $1.45 and the part-owners $5.75. The amounts per mu were tenants 10 cents, part-owners 23 cents, and owners $1.04.

Sixty-four full-time laborers were employed by 44 families. All but two of these families were in the owner group. There were none in the tenant group. Only three owner families in the over 100 mu group did not employ a full-time worker. The other families in that group averaged just over two workers per family. Fifty-four per cent of the 51–100 mu owners, 33 per cent of the 41–50, and 4 per cent of the 31–40 mu owners reported year-round laborers. The two part-owner families with full-time workers were in the 41–50 mu and the 51–100 mu groups. No family with less than 30 mu employed year-round labor.

Day labor was used sometime during the year by 152 families, 38 per cent. Forty-eight per cent of the owners, 21 per cent of the part-owners, and 24 per cent of the tenants used some day labor. For the owners the figures increased from 14 per cent for the 1–10 mu group to 68 per cent for the 31–40 mu group and 93 per cent for the over 100 mu group. The spring and fall harvests were naturally the times when most of the day labor was used.

The average number of days' work per owner family using day labor was 61. The figure varied from 19 for the 1–10 mu group to 43 for the 21–30 group and 101 for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the average, for those using day labor, was 28 days. The largest average was 52 days in the 11–20 mu group. The other averages varied from 10 to 29 days. Ten days was the average for both the 31–40 and the 41–50 mu group. The five tenant families used an average of 19 days of hired labor apiece.

Children were employed to help with the farm work by 22 families.

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16 owners and six part-owners. The children evidently were employed on a daily basis and usually for a relatively short period.

One hundred and seventy-two families, 43 per cent of the entire group, reported that they had some hired labor during the year. For the ownership groups the proportions were owners 56 per cent, part-owners 23, and tenants 24 per cent, practically the same proportions as used day labor. For the owner groups the proportion varied from 14 per cent for the 1–10 mu group to 72 per cent for the 31–40 mu group, 88 per cent for the 51–100 mu group, and 100 per cent for the over 100 mu group. For the part-owners the proportion increased from 15 per cent for the 11–20 mu group to 64 per cent for the 51–100 mu group.

The average number of days of labor used by the reporting families was 217 for the owners, 55 for the part-owners, and 19 for the tenants. For the 1–10 mu owner group the average was 19 days. It was 645 days for the over 100 mu group. The part-owner averages generally ranged from 28 to 70 days except in the 41–50 mu group. There, one family reported having 310 days of hired labor, 300 days from one full-time worker and 10 days from men hired by the day. At least some men classed as "full-time workers" did not work during the winter season.

The average expenditure for labor in the 1–10 mu group was $2.20 per farm for the owners, 60 cents for the part-owners, and 55 cents for the tenants. For the 21–30 mu group, the average was $11.75. In the 51–100 mu group, the average amounts were tenants $6.00, part-owners $17.55, and owners $82.60. For the over 100 mu owners the average was $191.85. The larger farms required increasing amounts of labor beyond that available in the farm families. The field reports did not give the rates on which these amounts were calculated, but wages for a year-round laborer in 1931 were given as $45.00 plus room and board. First-class day laborers averaged 35 cents a day plus board, but the amount varied widely with the season. The rate, naturally, was highest at harvest time. The expenditure for labor and the reported number of days worked gives an average wage for all the laborers, year-round, day, and child of 30 cents a day.

The estimated value of the family labor used on the farm averaged $57.60 for the 400 families. The amount was $29.90 for the tenant group, $65.15 for the part-owners, and $56.30 for the owners. This was one instance where the part-owner figures were regularly larger than those for the owners. For the different sized farms the averages ranged from

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$9.15 for the 1–10 mu tenant group to $129.45 for the 51–100 mu part-owner group. For the over 100 mu owners it was $89.80.

If the value of the family labor and the cost of the hired labor are added together, the average amount of man labor used was $2.65 per mu. It was $2.20 for the tenants, $3.10 for the part-owners, and $2.65 for the owners. For both the 1–10 mu and over 100 mu owner groups the amount was $2.30 per mu. The highest owner amount was $3.00, the average for the 21–30 mu and the 31–40 mu group.

The reported value of the animal labor averaged $41.50 per farm. For the tenants the amount was $15.05. For the part-owners it was $36.15, more than double the tenant average, while for the owners the average was $46.75, just over three times the tenant figure. The per mu averages were much closer. They were tenants $1.05, part-owners $1.45, and owners $1.30.

Land rent averaged $53.60 per farm for the tenants and $31.55 for the part-owners. The average per mu was $3.65. For the different sized tenant farms the average rent per mu varied from $3.20 for the 1–10 mu group to $4.90 for the 31–40 mu group. It must be remembered that there was only one family in the latter group. The other single family tenant groups reported rents of $3.50 and $4.50 per mu. The village land owned by Chai Ch'eng was rented at $3.00 per mu. The records seem to show that the rented land was all let on a cash rather than a share basis.

Fertilizer cost the owners $11.15, the part-owners $5.60, and the tenants $2.50 per year. The owners spent almost twice as much per mu as the tenants, but even for the owners the average was only 31 cents per mu. The largest farm generally paid the most per mu, but the amount did not increase regularly as the size of the farm increased. The value of the fertilizer produced on the farm or collected by the boys was not included in these figures.

The cost of seed was the largest for the owners, $3.40, and the least for the tenants, $2.75. However, the tenants' cost per mu, 20 cents, was just twice that of the owners. The tenants apparently spent on seed the amount they saved on fertilizer, when compared with the owners.

Fodder was a very small item as most of the food for the animals came direct from the farm. The average expenditure for both owners and part-owners was $1.70. The tenant average was $2.65, owing to the expenditure of $16 and $20 by two families. From the per mu figures,

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434 it is evident that, because of the small size of most of their farms, the tenants had to buy more fodder for their animals.

241 The average rate for the hsien taxes was 10 cents per mu, but extras and surtaxes had raised it to 10.5 cents. The average reported by the

434 owners, however, was 10.1 cents. It was 10.25 cents for the part-owners. It would seem that some of the owners had been able to reduce the number of mu assessed to them below their actual holdings.

The reported farm expenses do not include any amounts for village assessments. Other studies have shown levies of 10 and 15 cents per mu in villages in Hopei province, for home guard, education, crop watching, village watchmen, etc.[3]

Implement repair cost the owners $1.50 per farm, the part-owners 67 cents, and the tenants only 23 cents. House repair was another small item. The owners spent an average of $4.80, the part-owners 85 cents, and the tenants only 70 cents. For the 1–10 mu owners, the amount was $2.15 per farm. It was only $1.30 for the 41–50 mu group, but $15.15 for the over 100 mu group.

The total farm expense varied from $26.70 for the 1–10 mu owners to $528.50 for the over 100 mu owners. The average was $158.40 per farm. The cost per mu was $4.70 for the owners, $6.05 for the part-owners, and $7.65 for the tenants. The per cent of the gross yield was owners 39, part-owners 50, tenants 62.

The net return per mu, if the value of the family and animal labor is counted as one of the operating costs, was owners $7.35, part-owners $6.05, and tenants $4.50. If family and animal labor value is not deducted, the amount per mu was owners $10.25, part-owners $10.05, tenants $7.75. The farm products used by the operator's family are, of course, counted as farm income. On the basis of our 21–30 mu families, whose average farm is approximately the average for the entire hsien, Ting Hsien families had an average net income from their farms of $187.00 per year, or $293.00 if the family and animal labor is not counted as an expense.

Family Income

A report of income received from other than farm sources, labor for others, rent of land, interest on loans, home industry, and business, made

3. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

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TABLE 16. SIZE OF FARMS

Mu	Number[1]			Crop Area[1]			Per Cent of Total	
	O	PO	T	O	PO	T	Number	Area
10 and under	37	8	11	249	62	74	14	3
11–20	61	56	7	920	862	105	31	15
21–30	45	37	1	1,178	925	25	21	17
31–40	25	11	1	875	372	36	9	10
41–50	18	12	–	800	532	–	7	11
51–100	43	11	1	2,801	657	60	14	29
Over 100	15	–	–	1,844	–	–	4	15
	244	135	21	8,667	3,410	300	100	100

[1] O = owner; PO = part owner; T = tenant.

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TABLE 17. SIZE OF FARM AND SIZE OF FAMILY

Size of Farm (mu)	Average Mu	Size of Family	Children 1–10 Years	Mu per Person
1–10	6.9	3.8	0.6	1.8
11–20	15.2	4.8	0.8	3.2
21–30	25.6	6.2	0.9	4.1
31–40	34.7	6.7	1.3	5.2
41–50	44.4	8.4	1.4	5.3
51–100	64.0	9.4	1.9	6.8
Over 100	123.0	13.5	3.2	9.1
Average	30.9	6.3	1.1	4.8
Owners	35.5	6.8	1.3	5.2
Part-owners	25.3	6.0	0.9	4.2
Tenants	14.3	4.1	0.6	3.5

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TABLE 25. FARM PRODUCTS

	Per Cent		Amount	Average	Per Cent
	Crop Mu[1]	Crop Area	Produced	Value per Mu	Sold
Millet	30.3	36.8	$32,240	$ 7.05	6
——, glutinous	2.2	2.7	1,485	4.45	3
——, panicled	1.7	2.0	1,055	4.15	–
Wheat	9.9	12.1	10,630	9.10	42
Kaoliang	7.9	9.6	5,600	4.70	3
Corn	3.5	4.2	4,530	8.65	8
Buckwheat	4.5	5.5	3,225	4.75	13
Barley	2.0	2.4	1,475	5.00	1
Black beans	6.5	7.9	6,080	6.25	3
Green beans	2.8	3.6	1,325	2.95	15
Yellow beans	2.0	2.4	1,270	4.35	18
White beans	0.5	0.6	200	2.95	–
Sweet potatoes	6.8	8.2	16,475	16.20	2
Turnips	–	–	510	–	–
Vegetables	2.3	2.9	5,215	14.80	6
Peanuts	3.7	4.1	7,200	13.05	93
Cotton	9.1	11.0	14,905	10.95	86
Sesame	4.3	5.2	4,995	7.70	92
By-products	–	–	20,820	–	3
Total and average	100.0	121.2	$139,235	$11.25	24

Amount sold—$33,350; average per farm—$83.30.
Grains sold—12.2 per cent.
Animals and animal products sold (average)—$10.50.

[1] Total crop mu—121 per cent of crop area.

TABLE 26. SIZE OF FARM AND PROPORTION OF CROPS SOLD

Size of Farm	Per Cent Sold				Production
(mu)	Owners	Part-owners	Tenants	Total	per Mu
1–10	12.5	7.8	21.1	13.5	$12.55
11–20	14.2	20.2	12.4	16.9	12.45
21–30	21.6	20.3	17.8	21.0	13.10
31–40	21.6	24.2	56.0	23.2	12.50
41–50	23.5	29.3	–	25.8	11.25
51–100	27.1	26.0	27.0	26.9	11.60
Over 100	31.3	–	–	31.3	11.30
Average	24.4	22.9	22.2	23.9	12.05

Average value of production per mu: owners $12.00, part-owners $12.10, tenants $12.25.

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were interested in promoting education in Ting Hsien. Later on the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was appointed from the membership of the Association. In 1913, when the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government, the Association was abolished. The Bureau was reestablished in 1914, but the Association was not reorganized until 1917. At that time its name was changed to the Educational Weekly Association. Its chief activity was the publication of a weekly paper. A president and vice-president were elected for a term of three years. They were the editors of the paper. In 1929 the budget of the Association was $150 for the expense of publishing the weekly. The money came from general hsien funds.

The total for education in the hsien expenditure budget for 1929 was $45,444. This was 42 per cent of the budgeted items. If the non-budgeted administrative items, magistrate's office, and judiciary were added to the budgeted total the amount for education would probably be between 30 and 35 per cent of the total hsien expenditure.

Farm Association

The Farm Association was established in 1876 to promote reforestation and to protect the grain in the fields, but was discontinued because of political disturbances. It was reorganized in 1914. It was not affected by the 1928 reorganization and continued to receive a grant of $570 from the hsien Bureau of Finance.

In 1918 the hsien government required the people in the villages to organize branches of the Farm Association. Three hundred and twenty-seven were set up in the 453 villages. The branch associations tried to protect the trees and grain in their area and investigated and attempted to solve any thefts of trees or grain. This would seem to be a duplication of the function of the Green Crop Associations and an attempt on the part of the government to take over and control that work.

Merchants' Association

The Merchants' Branch Association, originally organized under the Manchu regime, was reorganized in 1914 by representatives of 95 shops. The next year the Agricultural Section issued orders that the Association should again be reorganized and the name changed. The new name was the Merchants' Association or, it might be translated, Chamber of

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621 trip to the hsien city and dealing with the yamen. One of the village elders estimated that this cooperative system saved at least $170 that would have to be paid for meals and travel under the old individual system. That amount would mean a saving of only 50 cents per family, so the amount might very well have been considerably more.

The cooperative tax collection was one of the model village activities that took root in Chai Ch'eng and was continued year after year.

Village Granary

621 731 A village granary was organized in the latter part of 1914 to help provide against famine and other calamities and to make it possible to aid the poor of the village. The farm families were divided into three groups, according to the amount of their land. After the harvest the first-class farmers contributed 0.07 tou per mu of land, second-class farmers 0.05 tou per mu, and third-class farmers 0.03 tou per mu. The amount collected from each family was entered in the village accounts. Special contributions were specially recorded to encourage a philanthropic spirit. A manager and five assistants operated the granary.

The granary regulations provided that the villagers might borrow grain from the granary, but they should give a pledge for their loan and pay interest when they returned the grain, generally after the harvest. If they borrowed 9 tou they should return 10 tou.

When a considerable amount of grain was accumulated, the granary manager could decide, with the village head, when it was a good time to sell the grain. The money secured was to be loaned at one per cent per month.

It was proposed that in times of famine or other calamity the money held by the granary should be used to buy grain, which, together with any in the granary, should be distributed as a loan to the poor families of the village. They were expected to repay the loans, if they could, when they had a good harvest.

The collection of grain by the granary was discontinued in 1927 because of the civil war, extra taxes, and hard times. The granary funds, however, were retained. In 1931 the amount was $1,200.

Cooperative Benefit Society

621 241 The Cooperative Benefit Society was started as the result of the suggestion made by Mr. Mi Shu-p'ing that the village should advance

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money to purchase, from Wu Chi Hsien, cottonseed that would later be sold to the Chai Ch'eng farmers. This would save the time of the individual farmers and secure good seed for the cotton crop.

Later, about 1924, a complete cooperative organization was developed with a credit department, a cooperative store, and both a buyers' and a sellers' cooperative program. The business of the cooperative was directed by a Board of Trustees with a president and 10 members. The work was carried on by a business manager and an accountant. The capital of the cooperative, which amounted to $12,000 in 1931, was secured by the sale of shares at $50 each.

The finance and credit department was by far the most active part of the cooperative. Besides the original capital, it handled the funds of the village government and of other public organizations, the school endowment funds and the student loan fund, and savings of the villagers, and received deposits from the residents of Chai Ch'eng and of other villages. It was authorized to borrow money from banks, other organizations, and individuals. Most of the money handled by the cooperative was deposited in a money shop in the hsien city.

The society cleared its accounts at the end of every year and at the end of every three years it paid a distribution to its shareholders. The profits were divided into 12 parts. Two parts were kept as reserve, three parts were distributed to the employees as a bonus, and seven parts went to the shareholders. Before 1931 two dividends had been paid, the first one $28, the second $32 per share.

Savings Society

The Diligent and Thrifty Savings Society was organized in 1915 with a chairman and a committee of eight. One report said the village head was the chairman and the eight district leaders were the committee. The purpose was to persuade the people to save money, to create good customs, and to cultivate the habits of perseverance and honesty. All the village was invited to attend the meetings of the society and listen to lectures on savings and economy. Every family was asked to save at least 10 cents a month. The money collected was sent to the finance department of the village. The village head and the head of the finance department together determined how the money should be used to earn a profit. Interest was paid on deposits of more than $1.00. The accounts of the society were posted every year so that the villagers could

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cooperative wells. The latter were to be looked after in turn by the various owners. Those responsible were required to report to the village office before they covered the wells to protect them from frost. If the well was damaged because of improper coverage the person responsible was required to repair the damage and pay a fine of five dollars. The village office was to keep a record of the owners of the cooperative wells and the time when each was to be responsible for the care of the well. The regulations required that after the wells had been covered for the winter and after they had been opened in the spring the village officers visit the fields and inspect the wells to determine whether they were being kept in proper condition. The well digging program received a further impetus from the drought of 1920–21.

In 1928 Chai Ch'eng had 390 wells, 96 for the domestic use of the 366 families and 294 for irrigation. A large proportion of the crop area of the village must have been irrigated, for the average area per well was 33 mu. Chai Ch'eng had the largest number of wells of any of the 62 villages in the Experimental District, four times the average number.

Watching the ripening crops to prevent theft before harvest time was another agricultural activity of the village. The watchmen were held responsible for any loss there might be through theft. This work had been done previously by the Green Crop Society, but in 1904 the village officers and elders adopted a series of regulations and employed eight men to watch the crops before the autumn harvest. Two men were assigned to each quarter of the compass. By 1913, when the crop watching was made part of the program of the Agriculture and Forestry Society, it was possible to protect the crops with only four watchers.

The wages of the crop watchers, which one report gave as 10 cents a day plus food, were met by contributions from the land owners. These were paid in kind and were graduated according to the amount of land held by each owner. The field report states that those with from 20 to 50 mu were to pay three gills (0.03 of a tou) of grain per mu; those with from 50 to 100 mu paid five gills per mu, while those who had more than 100 mu contributed seven gills per mu. If there was any surplus it apparently was kept as a special earmarked account rather than added to the general funds of the village.

In 1905, the year after the village engaged the crop watchers, regulations were adopted to cover the protection of trees planted in the village area. Two men were engaged to watch the trees and protect them

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from damage and theft. Our field report said that the protection was effective and encouraged the villagers to plant trees in the village and on some 200 mu of land that were too sandy for farming, but it did not state how the work was financed or how long it was continued.

The village Agriculture and Forestry Society was organized in 1913. Mr. Mi Chu-wu and four assistants were the board. The society included in its program the promotion of well digging, deeper plowing, the use of more fertilizer, the planting of trees, and the planting of more cotton. The society also took over the crop watching program.

In 1908 a pest of worms attacked the fields just before the harvest. The farmers were inclined to do nothing because they believed the gods sent the worms as a punishment, but Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming persuaded the villagers to join together to catch and kill the worms. In 1915, when locusts were found north of the hsien city, the Chai Ch'eng farmers formed the Insect Destroying Society. The first meeting was attended by over one hundred persons. A chairman, four secretaries, and eight temporary officers were elected. An annual meeting was held during the summer to discuss how to get rid of any locusts that might appear. The villagers were advised how to clean and take care of their farms so that the locusts could be kept down.

At the time of our study it was the rule that all the village residents must help destroy pests. The village gong was rung by the managers of the society to call out the village in time of need. The regulations provided that those who were purposely absent from the meetings of the Society or from any campaign against locusts should be fined.

In discussing the efforts made to promote the village agricultural program, one of the men said "Though not much development is made, the spirit is not to be neglected".

Village Market

The village market was held on the 4th, 9th, 14th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the lunar month. On the 14th of the 8th month, the day before the fall festival, there were 262 sellers in the food section of the market. Prices of food and other details are given in Chapter XIV.

Industrial Organization

In 1913 Mr. Mi encouraged the weavers of the village to buy a new type of iron loom to replace the old style wooden loom they had been

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427 423 quirement three deeds per family and the maximum 10, the normal expectation evidently was between four and five deeds per family.

241 The division of the family land holdings, the relatively small size of the plots, the distances from the village, all would make for difficult farming, consume extra time in going to and from the fields, and require extra transportation of tools. At harvest time it would greatly complicate the supervision and protection of the crops and may very well have been one of the reasons for the Green Crop Society or the Agricultural Association taking over the general watching of the crops.

423 427 Only 271 families, 1.3 per cent of the 20,185 families who rented farm land, paid their rent by giving the landlord a share of the crop produced on the land. It had been our expectation that this would be a much higher figure. For over half the renters, 54.0 per cent, the rent was fixed in dollars. For 40.4 per cent it was stated in quantities of millet, cotton, wheat, or kaoliang per mu but usually it was paid in money, the amount being determined by the market value of the crop-rent at the time of payment. (See Table 65.) Millet was the most generally used unit for the cash-crop rent. It was reported by 7,947 families. Cotton was the unit for only 212 families. Wheat and kaoliang were used by only a few families.

Sample rent studies showed amounts ranging from 50 cents to $7.50 per mu and returns to the landlord of from 3.0 to 8.9 per cent of the value of the land. The average return apparently was not more than 6.0 per cent. There was considerable variation in the return on land of different value in a given area and on land of the same value in different parts of the hsien. Generally the middle value land appeared to be in greater demand than either the cheaper or the more expensive land and therefore to command a somewhat higher return.

Estimated rents in the 1st District were generally between 3.0 and 3.5 per cent of the value of the unirrigated land and from 4.0 to 4.6 per cent of the value of the irrigated land.

The rates were higher in two sample villages, one in the north part of the hsien, the other in the south. For the north village the average return was 5.9 per cent. For the south village it was 20 per cent higher, 7.1 per cent. (See Table 66.)

In six villages in the Experimental District the cash rent averaged 5.9, 6.3, and 5.2 per cent for the first, second, and third grades of land.

In our study of 400 farm families the average rent figure was $1.69 per mu for land worth less than $40 per mu, $3.63 for the middle grade of

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contract, usually for a three year term. They also required an advance rent of $1.00 per mu. This was refunded at the end of the term, but was kept by the landlord in case the tenant gave up the land before the end of the rental contract. Another report said that the share rent contracts were generally on a one year basis, the cash-crop more often on a three year basis, while the cash contracts were often for five years.

One village rented its school land for a term of five years. The rent was paid in money, the amount being fixed by bidding at a town meeting when the previous renting contract expired. The successful bidder was required to have his contract guaranteed by one of his friends. Another village reported that the rent on its school land was set at $3.00 per mu per year.

There were 2,739 more farm-operating families than there were farm-owning families. The addition of 3,253 full tenant families and the subtraction of the 514 non-farming landlord families accounted for the difference. The crop area farmed by the operating families, 1,424,930 mu, was larger by some 8,070 mu than that held by the farm-owning families. The difference was the result of renting, to private operators, the lands owned by schools, temples, villages, or other public organizations. The average farm, per operating family, was 21.2 mu, only slightly less than the 21.9 mu average of the land-owning families. For an average family of 5.8 persons the average amount of land per person was 3.7 mu, about 0.6 of an acre.

The proportions of the operating families farming 50 or more mu and less than 25 mu were both less than the figures for the land owning families holding those amounts. The large land owners and the landlords reduced their holdings by renting, the tenants and the small land owners increased theirs. One hundred and thirty-two families owned 300 or more mu but only 15 families were farming that much land. The 840 families farming from 100 to 299 mu were almost one-third less than the families owning that much land. At least 141 and possibly considerably more of the 4,460 families owning from 50 to 99 mu rented out some of their land. After the land holding went above 60 mu, 10 acres, it apparently became more and more advantageous to rent part of the land rather than farm it with family or hired labor. The tenant shared the risk of the farm operation.

Detailed reports were secured on the area devoted to some 37 different crops. The list included nine grains, four legumes, six vegetables, three

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fruits, two oil seeds, cotton, tobacco, fruit trees, and trees grown for timber. The total number of crop mu was 1,830,140. This was 405,210 mu more than the crop area. The index of double cropping, therefore, was 128. If the index was determined only by the area planted to wheat and barley, the usual winter crops, it would be 126. In the six districts, the index varied from 114 in the 6th District to 144 in the 1st District. Differences in the type and quality of soil and in the amount of irrigation would account for most of the differences in the indices. The 6th District index was low because 44,114 mu, 14.5 per cent of the crop mu in the district, were planted to cotton. Almost one-third of the cotton area was in that district.

Wheat and barley, which are winter crops, were naturally first crops. Kaoliang, cotton, and watermelons were also listed as first crops. Cabbage and carrots were listed as second crops, grown after an earlier crop had been harvested. The other crops might be either first or second depending on the amount of double cropping. Corn or melons were sometimes harvested in time to permit the growing of a second crop.

The area used for the different crops varied from 493,500 mu for millet to 60 mu for apples. In determining the area used for the various crops it has been difficult to secure exact figures, as 12.4 per cent of the crop mu were reported as growing two crops simultaneously. On most of this area beans or turnips were grown between the rows of grain. The principal crops involved were millet and white beans with 146,740 mu, kaoliang and black beans with 68,030 mu, buckwheat and turnips with 10,580 mu. In all such instances the area has been equally divided between the jointly grown crops. (See Table 70.)

Sixty-three per cent of the crop mu were planted to grain, 79.2 per cent if we include all the land where grains and legumes were planted together. Sixteen per cent was used for beans and peas, 7.6 per cent for vegetables, and 6.6 per cent for cotton. Fruit, including melons and the orchard fruits—pears, dates, apricots, apples—had just under 0.5 per cent. Trees grown for timber—poplar, willow, elm—had 3.0 per cent of the crop mu. In per cent of crop area the figures were: grains 80 per cent, legumes 20.5 per cent, vegetables 9.7 per cent, cotton 8.5 per cent, and other crops 9.9 per cent. The total of these figures is over 100 because of the double cropping.

Millet was the most generally grown grain. If the panicled and glutinous varieties are both included, it was planted on almost 30 per cent of

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the crop mu and 37.8 per cent of the crop area. Wheat was second with 22 per cent of the crop area and kaoliang third with 8.2 per cent. Rice was grown on only 2,090 mu and only in the 6th District, where the springs in the Black Dragon Pool supplied the necessary water. The other grains were corn, barley, and buckwheat.

The legumes were black beans, white beans, green beans, an peas. Black beans were grown as the only crop on 187,090 mu and on [illegible],380 mu with either kaoliang or glutinous millet. White beans were grown with millet on 146,740 mu. Green beans and sesame were grown together on 1,550 mu.

Sweet potatoes were the principal vegetable. They were reported grown on 95,080 mu, or 6.7 per cent of the crop area. No other vegetable had as much as one per cent of the crop area. The estimated sweet potato crop was 190,217,000 catties, an average of 2,000 catties per mu, 2,700 catties per family, 470 catties per person. This agrees very closely with the 2,500 catties per family and 415 catties per person consumed by the families in our budget study (see Chapter V).

The oil seeds were peanuts and sesame. They were grown on 4.7 per cent of the crop area. Poplar and willow trees were the only other crops that had as much as one per cent of the crop area. They had approximately 2.0 and 1.7 per cent.

The estimated yield of each crop, when grown as a first or second crop on irrigated or unirrigated land, is shown in Table 69. Barley and millet, grown as the first crop on irrigated land, gave the largest return, 16 and 14 tou per mu. Unirrigated barley produced only eight tou per mu, while millet, grown as the first crop on unirrigated land, averaged only six tou. Wheat gave only half the return of barley, eight tou on irrigated and four tou on unirrigated land.

The sweet potato crop was estimated at 2,800 catties per mu, when grown as the first crop on irrigated land. The return was only 1,800 catties for a second crop on unirrigated land. Cabbage and carrots averaged 3,000 catties, two tons per mu, on irrigated land. The figures for cotton were 80 and 50 catties per mu. Generally, the figures in Table 69 are lower than the average yields shown by the prices and crop value figures in Table 70. The difference is due partly to the fact that Table 69 is for the 1st District while Table 70 is for the entire hsien, partly to the fact that the tables are for different years, partly to the estimates being made by different investigators.

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An attempt was made to discover whether there was any generally adopted plan of crop rotation, but the best we could do was to secure a long list of three-year programs. On irrigated land some farmers were growing six crops in three years with wheat or barley as the winter crops and three years of millet or two years of millet and one year of beans as the summer crops. In another group of fields squash was planted between the rows of barley for two years and barley was grown alone the third year. The summer crops were millet one year and cabbage, carrots, and turnips two years. Another combination was one year of garlic and two of wheat with two years of millet and one of beans. More often the program called for five or four crops in three years. Usually, millet was the only crop one year.

On unirrigated land there was usually but little double cropping. At most four crops were raised in three years. Black beans were one of the crops in many of the dry land combinations. Millet was included in nearly all the combinations for both irrigated and unirrigated land. It naturally would be as it was planted on more than one-third of the crop area and just under 30 per cent of the crop mu.

The farmers made some interesting comments on their crop rotation programs. One said that it was possible to grow sweet potatoes two years in succession, but, while the potatoes would be larger the second year, the total weight of the crop would be less. Another stated that sesame could be grown on a plot only once in ten years. Cantaloupes could be grown for two years, but then it would be necessary to wait seven years as much of the crop would die if the interval between plantings was shorter.

One cotton farmer showed no rotation in his three-year program. He admitted it would be better to rotate, but said he could not do it as he had only one field.

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The value of the Ting Hsien crops was estimated as just over $16,000,000. Five crops were worth more than one million dollars each. Millet had the largest value, $3,550,000. Wheat was next with $2,690,000. Sweet potatoes were third with $2,310,000. Cotton followed with $1,770,000 and black beans were fifth with $1,325,000. Peanuts and kaoliang were the only other crops valued at over $500,000.

The 1931 prices for the various crops are shown in Table 70. They ranged from less than one cent per catty for carrots and turnips to five cents a catty for peanuts and 14.7 cents per cotton. The highest price

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was the $1.60 per catty for onion seed, but that crop totaled less than 2,000 catties.

For the bulk grains the prices ranged from 40 cents a tou for barley to 88 cents for wheat and $1.16 for rice. Millet, kaoliang, corn, and buckwheat were all priced between 50 and 54 cents per tou.

The average gross return per mu for the grain crops ranged from $5.00 for kaoliang and $5.50 for barley to $8.60 for wheat and $11.80 for rice. The legumes averaged $6.00 per mu. The gross income from vegetables ranged from $20.00 per mu for carrots to $45.20 for cabbage. The figure for turnips was $53.30, but this probably is high, as most of the turnips were grown with buckwheat and the allocation of one-half the area to turnips is an arbitrary and possibly inexact division. The same situation may influence the figures for the legumes and, to a lesser extent, the figures for buckwheat, kaoliang, and millet.

For the oil seeds the figures were $8.00 per mu for sesame and $12.40 for peanuts. Cotton gave a gross return of $14.60 and tobacco $22.50 per mu.

The fruit trees returned amounts generally ranging from $30 to $62 per mu. Apricots and pears gave the highest return. Dates produced only $17 per mu. No return was reported from the timber trees that had 3.8 per cent of the crop area.

The average gross return from all crops was $8.75 per crop mu. It was $11.25 per mu of crop area. This was some $240 per farm family per year. The average crop value per capita was approximately $40 per year. These figures are basic in any picture of the economic life in an agricultural community and determine to a large degree the economic level of life in Ting Hsien.

Farm wages current in 1930 and the rates for 1912 and 1921 are shown in Table 71.

Room and board, three meals per day, were given to all workers. Four special meals with meat and wine were usually given during the year—at the end of the wheat harvest, at the middle of the summer crop season, at the end of fall harvest, and at the end of the work year.

It will be noted that, in general, the 1930 rates were about three times those for 1912. This 200 per cent increase in wages would seem to indicate an increase of some 70 per cent in the real wages of the workers, as the general index of wholesale prices in North China, compiled

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 .AF 12 North China AF 12

by the Nankai Institute of Economics, increased about 75 per cent from 1912 to 1930.[2]

Full time year round farm laborers were employed by 11 per cent of the 400 farm family group and by 10.1 per cent of the 515 family group. In the latter group the largest number employed by any one family was three. Only three families had that many helpers. Two per cent of the families with less than 50 mu, 30 per cent of the families with from 50 to 99 mu, and 72 per cent of the families with 100 or more mu of farm land employed full time workers. The average number of employees per family was 1.4 for the families with 100 mu or more and 0.5 for the 50–99 mu group, but only 0.02 for those with less than 50 mu. On that basis the number of full time hired farm workers in the hsien was some 6,300.

It was reported to be customary for the employers and their full time employees to discuss wages for the coming year at the time of the fall festival, the 15th of the 8th moon. When they and the middle man (conciliator) had had a good meal and had drunk wine together and while they were enjoying looking at the beauty of the full moon they would settle the rates for the coming year. Full time workers were generally paid in two instalments, at the beginning of their term and at the end of the year.

The monthly rates were usually the wages paid the seasonal workers, those who were taken on at the beginning of the growing season and laid off after the harvest. The seasonal workers were usually paid at Ch'ing Ming for the entire season. If, later on, they left or had to be let go their employer generally did not attempt to recover any unearned wages. The first of the tenth month or the first of the second month were the times when the full time workers hired by the year began their work. Some of the semi-permanent men worked from the 16th of the first month to the first of the 10th month.

For extra men, to work by the day at harvest time, spring and fall, the employers went to the "man market" which usually was held before sunrise at some central place in the village. The employers would circulate among the waiting workers quoting the price they would pay. The "condition of the market" would naturally push wages up to a peak at the height of the harvest and drop them rapidly thereafter. Our

2. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report*, Shanghai, October–December, 1933.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF 12 North China AF 12

daily rates are those paid under normal conditions rather than the harvest peak.

The holidays and festivals usually observed in the Experimental District were:

First Days of the First Month: New Year Festival
15th of the First Month: Feast of Lanterns
2nd of the Second Month: The Dragon Raises His Head
21st of the Third Month: Pei Ch'i Temple Fair
5th of the Fifth Month: Spring Festival
13th of the Sixth Month: Kuan Kung Festival
15th of the Eighth Month: Fall Festival
9th of the Ninth Month: End of Work in the Fields
Tung Chih: Beginning of Winter
8th of the Twelfth Month: La Pa

TABLE 58. CROP AREA PER FAMILY, VILLAGE AVERAGES

Mu	*1st District*		*Experimental District*		*Hsien*	
	Villages	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 10	–	–	–	–	11	2.4
10–14	2	2.8	1	1.6	64	14.1
15–19	13	18.3	15	24.3	142	31.4
20–24	31	43.7	23	37.1	108	23.8
25–29	21	29.6	12	19.3	67	14.8
30–34	3	4.2	6	9.6	33	7.3
35–39	1	1.4	4	6.5	13	2.9
40–44	–	–	–	–	8	1.8
45–49	–	–	–	–	2	0.4
50 and over	–	–	1	1.6	5	1.1
	71	100.0	62	100.0	453	100.0

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 :AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 64. FARM FIELDS IN FOUR VILLAGES

Fields per Family

Fields	*Families*	*Per Cent*	*Fields*	*Families*	*Per Cent*
1	337	29.6	9	11	1.0
2	269	23.6	10	10	0.9
3	162	14.2	11–15	25	2.0
4	108	9.5	16–20	8	0.7
5	72	6.3	Over 20	3	0.3
6	69	6.1	No data	3	0.3
7	34	3.0	Total	1,139	100.0
8	28	2.5			

Size of Fields

Size	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Size*	*Number*	*Per Cent*
Under 1 mu	241	6.4	8–8.9	112	3.0
1–1.9	734	19.3	9–9.9	62	1.6
2–2.9	707	18.5	10–14.9	220	5.8
3–3.9	574	15.1	15–24.9	88	2.3
4–4.9	413	10.9	25–49.9	23	0.6
5–5.9	311	8.2	50 and over	3	0.1
6–6.9	176	4.6	No data	35	0.9
7–7.9	99	2.6	Total	3,798	100.0

Distance of Fields from Family Residence

Distance	*Fields*	*Per Cent*	*Distance*	*Fields*	*Per Cent*
Under 0.5 li	618	16.3	4.0–4.9	117	3.1
0.5–0.9	879	23.1	5.0–5.9	66	1.7
1.0–1.9	1,272	33.5	6 and over	6	0.2
2.0–2.9	528	13.9	Total	3,798	100.0
3.0–3.9	312	8.2			

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TABLE 65. RENTING SYSTEM, 453 VILLAGES

	Part-owners	*Tenants*	*Total*	*Per Cent*
Cash	9,360	1,536	10,896	54.0
Cash crop millet	6,614	1,333	7,947	39.4
Cash crop cotton	188	24	212	1.0
Share	231	40	271	1.3
No data	539	320	859	4.3
	16,932	3,253	20,185	100.0

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TABLE 66. PROPORTION OF LAND VALUE PAID AS RENT, TWO VILLAGES

	Village No. 1		Village No. 2	
Land Value	*Average Rent*	*Per Cent of Value*	*Average Rent*	*Per Cent of Value*
Under $25	$1.10	5.5	$1.15	5.9
25–49	2.40	6.0	2.85	8.[illegible]
50–74	3.80	6.3	4.85	8.3
75–99	5.40	6.4	5.35	6.4
100–149	6.00	5.3	6.80	6.5
150 and over	7.50	5.0	–	–
Average	5.25	5.9	4.50	7.1

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TABLE 67. CASH AND CROP RENT, SIX VILLAGES, 1928

	Cash Rent		Average Rent	
Land Values	*Rent*	*Per Cent*	*Cash*	*Kind*
First class, $75–$120	$5.50–$7.00	5.0–7.3	$5.60	$4.90
Second class, $40–$80	$2.00–$4.00	5.0–7.8	$3.30	$2.60
Third class, $10–$40	$0.50–$1.00	5.0–6.0	$0.70	$1.20

Crop Rent, Amounts

	Cotton	*Millet*	*Wheat*	*Kaoliang*
First class	35–40 catties	5.5–7.0 tou	3.5 tou	–
Second class	20–25 "	2.0–4.0 "	1.4–2.0 "	4.0 tou
Third class	8–10 "	1.5 "	0.6–1.0 "	2.0 "

Crop Prices

	Cotton	*Millet*	*Wheat*	*Kaoliang*
1928	$0.145	$0.72	$1.30	$0.83
1931	0.128	0.50	0.88	0.543

TABLE 68. SIZE OF FARMS OPERATED

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Area	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Mu*	*Per Cent*	*Average*
Under 25 mu	47,105	70.1	539,310	37.9	11.4
25–49	15,010	22.3	482,950	33.9	32.2
50–99	4,319	6.4	286,960	20.1	66.5
100–299	840	1.2	109,760	7.7	130.7
300 and over	15	–	5,950	0.4	396.6
	67,289	100.0	1,424,930[1]	100.0	21.2

[1] Includes 8,070 mu of publicly owned land.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Other Industries

The equipment for making sesamum seed oil cost some $22.10, a stone mill $14.00, two big iron pots $1.50, an oil pot $4.00, a big willow basket $1.00, two willow twig scoops $1.00, and a long handled gourd dipper 60 cents. One tou of sesame seed made from 6.5 to 7.0 catties of oil, worth 30 cents a catty in 1931. The oil cake was used for fertilizer and was worth $4.50 per 100 catties. 258

Pig bristle sorting was the second largest home industry, with an estimated annual output of some $760,000 and a gain of $95,000. Unlike spinning and weaving, which were almost hsien wide, the bristle industry was concentrated in two villages near the southern border of the hsien, nearly 10 miles from the railroad. The work was carried on by 80 families and 445 workers. Most of the 90 men were engaged in the buying and selling. The women did most of the sorting. It was a business that required the use of considerable amounts of capital, for the bristles were purchased in Shantung, Honan, Shansi, and as far away as the Three Eastern Provinces, shipped to Ting Hsien for processing, and then sold to purchasers from Tientsin for export. Some of the families were able to provide the necessary capital. Others borrowed the needed funds from the money lenders. 438 237

The bristles were washed, combed, and sorted into three sizes, top quality with lengths of from five to seven inches, medium quality from three to four inches long and lowest grade from one to three inches long. The prices ranged from $1.00 to $6.00 per catty with the medium grade price about $2.00 per catty. The bristles too short for export were used locally to help make water baskets and buckets water tight, for bristle rope, or for fertilizer. [241 283]

A worker ordinarily sorted some 20 catties per day. Some of the sorters were paid on a piece work basis which averaged about seven coppers, 1.75 cents, per catty or about 35 cents for a day's work. The estimated gain was some 24 cents per catty.

Mat weaving, the fourth largest home industry, with an output of $361,400, was not as concentrated as the bristle sorting but it was reported by only seven villages, five of which were in the 6th District. Seven hundred and seventy of the 1,012 families lived in one village (see Chapter IV). It, quite naturally, was the chief mat market of the hsien. 285

Mat weaving required almost no tools but did require considerable

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527 On the 11th day of the 11th month students generally went to greet their teachers.

On the eighth day of the 12th month most families ate la pa chou, eight precious pudding. Dates, chestnuts, cereals, and jelly were mixed with rice gruel. After it had been put into bowls it was decorated with designs of birds and flowers made from red and white fruits. It was often sent as a present to relatives and intimate friends. Some was usually offered to the gods on the family altar.

On the 23rd of the 12th month Tsao Wang, the kitchen god, was worshiped, as that was the day he went up to heaven to report to the heavenly emperor on the family's conduct during the past year. His picture was taken down from the wall and burned. Sugar or a sweet syrup was often put on his lips so he could report only good things. On the table in front of the tablet of Tsao Wang was placed an offering of straw, black beans, yellow paper, and incense. After the worship ceremony the black beans were wrapped in small pieces of paper and then sewn into the belts worn by the family to help them avoid adversity.

During the following week the families were all very busy getting ready for the New Year. The house was cleaned, new clothes were made, special food was prepared for the New Year's feast, loans were collected, and debts were paid or refunded. By the 30th everything was ready for the New Year.

Other Customs

241 During the busy seasons the farmers had their dinner brought out to them and ate it in the fields. Before eating, they usually spread on the ground a small measure of grain as an offering to the god of the crops. It was believed that, if this was not done, the god would ruin the crop by beating the ears of grain with a small whip so that nothing would grow on the land of the offender.

Before going out to their fields to gather the harvest the farmers generally burned paper money and incense before the god of agriculture to insure a good crop. Firecrackers were often set off as part of the ceremony.

The farmers were upset if, at harvest time, anyone asked about their crops and when they would be harvested. Such questions were considered to be very unlucky.

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geomancer is consulted before the arrangement of the union of a man with a woman is decided. Shortly before the bride steps into the bridal chair, certain magical acts should be performed to drive away the evil spirits. After the wedding, the bride is led to the ancestral tomb so as to inform the spirits that a new member has been added to the family.

Illness and death are human sorrows. When a person is ill, his wife or her children, in addition to procuring medicine, proceed to a temple to burn incense before the gods. Death is a calamity; particularly so is the death of the main supporter of the family. When a person is dead, his relatives from near and far come to share the sorrow of his family, together with his friends and non-clan members of the village.

The degree of elaboration of a death ceremony, as in marriage, varies in direct proportion with the financial condition of the family. There is, however, one thing common to the ceremonies of all families and that is their magico-religious nature. Performances have to be made to send the spirit away from the dead body. The spirit has to be guaranteed the ability to reach "heaven" through "hell". The family members have to be assured that they will not be disturbed by the spirit of the dead.

In the field of agriculture, water and wind and insect pests may destroy the plants and the crops. While some of these outside dangers can be put under the farmer's control, there are many that he feels he cannot deal with. He is not quite willing to leave everything to fate and luck until gods have failed him. His mule-carts and working-animals have to be protected from evil spirits. He or his wife or one of his children has to burn incense before the gods at regular intervals of the year or month to thank them for the protection to human labor, to animals, to carts and to crops.

P'ing-chiao-tsun has a temple, but no collective worship has been carried on during recent years. No monk resides in the village temple. In case a monk is needed, he can be called to serve from temples in the neighboring villages. Many gods in the village are no longer popular, but *niang-niang* 娘娘, the goddess, is still functioning. Women pray to her for sons and later for protection of these sons.

A family may worship the gods in the house of residence. Peculiarly enough, only a few families have ancestral tablets. Ancestral worship is not popular in P'ing-chiao-tsun. Of all the house-

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isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family.

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication.

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially.

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city.

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of

27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

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both organisations to work together in Ching Ho. 441 656

3 The Association for the Protection of Green Crops.

The next important organization in the town is the farmers association which is called by various names in different districts: either The Agricultural Association, The Association for the protection of Green Crops (The *Ching miao Hai*) or The Farmers' Union. The first name is an official title given by the old government, the second is the popular name, and third is the name given by the Kuomentang to the reorganised association under their direction. In Ching Ho we found the second and third types of association only. 241 625

The Association for the Protection for the Protection of Green Crops is an organisation purely for self protection. It has a long history dating back severa hundreds of years, and has enjoyed great popularity in many parts of China, especially in the Province of Hopei. The internal organisation is very simple. There are five heads, (one serving as treasurer,) who own large areas of land, and, and who are elected by the consensus of opinion of larger land owners. Thus although the tenants receive an equal amount of protection, they, have no voice in the administrative side of their work, and the organisation is really an associotion of land owners. These heads assess the dues to be paid, with the result that quite often the tenants are paying a full share while the larger land owners are carrying less than their weight.

The primary work of the association is the protection of green crops in the Spring and Autumn, and four guards are employed for this purpose. On the

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625 fifteenth day of the sixth month of the Chiness year the Chinese year the heads call togother the members or the farmers who need protection, in the Temple of the Three Sages, and there make offerings to the God of War or Kuan Ti (關帝) and at the same time the guards commence their watch in the fields. The guards have power to arrest any person or animal who trespasses on the fields or damages the crops in any way. The offenders are brought before the heads who name the amount of compensation to be paid, By the middle of the ninth month most of the crops have beed harvested,and the heads again gather the members together for another offering, and then the work of protection is suspended and the expenses are aportioned among the members according to the number of acres which each holds. The watch for the wheat crops only lasts one month, from the twentieth of the fourth month to the twentieth of the fifth month and the number of guards is increased or decreased according to the amout of land under wheat in that particular year. No special offerings are made during this short watch.

During recent years the Association has taken up other kinds of work, the most important being the answering of requests for financial assistance from the soldiers and the district government. For instance, in the summer of 1928 the district government borrowed $500 from the Association, which they guaranteed by land taxes. There were also a number of cases where soldiers living in the town demanded carts and fuel, and $200 were spent for that purpose, and in addition some $30 has been spent in support

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of the local school and the police. Although the field worker tried to get informatiou regarding the finances of the Association from different sources the heads refused to give any pertculars, so that no accurate accurate accounts can be given here, but from conversations with the heads and other leaders in the community we have been able to make a rough estimate. As the expenses determine the income we give our estimate of expenses first.

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TABLE XLIII. EXPENDITURE OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF CROPS (1928-1929)

NATURE OF EXPENSES	AMOUNT OF EXPENSES (IN MOLLARS MAX.)
Alvancement for land tax	500
Fuel for resident soldiers	200
Miscellane expenses in connection with requests of soldiers	100
Contribution to local school and police	30
Office expenses	20
Offerings	20
Wages for guards	40
Interest	30
Total	840

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625 The first item has been financed by a loan, and it is hoped to clear this off by the land-owners paying their tax to the district government, but since the change in the district government, a rumour has spread that this is not the case, and that the land tax should still be paid to the county government. The method of collection is by apportionment of the expenses among the farmers according to the acreage of land held by each, and in 1928 this assessment was 25 cents for each *mow* of land. There are 1700 *mows* of land under the protection of the Associatinn so that if we multiply the amount of land by the charge per *mow* we get an estimated income of $425. This income does not balance the expenditure, but the $500 loan was not apportioned amonget the farmers in the ordinary way, but secured by a loan, so that the nett expenses are only $329. Allowing a deduction for land which may not be under crops we should get an income and expenditure which would practically balance. Since the setting up of the Party organisations msst of the Protection associations have been taken over by them and re-organised into Farmers' Unions, but because of the strength of its leaders the Ching Ho Association has been able to retain its position in the community.

It is important to notice that this Association only has control of the land north of the Ching River, which coincided with the political territory. The south side which does not have independent political organisation is protected by the Association in Kuan Hsi Chuan (關西莊) about three *li* east of Ching Ho. This association controls 4,800 *mows* of land and

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employs 13 guards. Owing to its larger area, and the protection which it receives from the Peping municipal government the expenses of the Association are much smaller, amounting tc only 15 cents for the past year. 241 625

4. The Farmers' Union.

As in the case of the Merchants' Union, the Farmers' Union is an organisation for the whole district, and is created under the direction of the Party authorities, with the difference that although the Merchants' Union has gained a footing in Ching Ho the Farmers' Union has not been able to take the place of the powerful Association for the Protection of Green Grops, and is therefore, only a district Association, and has not affected Ching Ho itself. 241 625 659

The Farmers' Union has had a long history in the southern provinces, but its first appearance in Ching Ho was in November 1928 when the local Party authorities summoned together the heads and associates of the seventeen villages in the east region of the Fifth district of Wan Ping. The Chairman of the county Party came down to make a speech, and appointed five directors, together with one member from the local Party organisation, to start a local Farmers' Union. The chief work appears to have been done by this local member who has spent much time in the villages, calling together mass meetings of the family heads, and explaining to them the advantages to be obtained by organising into such a Union. If they are unfriendly he has had to try to persuade the farmers personally. After he has obtain-

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241 625 659

ed enough support he takes along a policeman, calls a meeting of the farmers, and the Union is started. After about one month's work this man has been successful in organising eight village Unions into the Fifth district Union, but he was not able to get the support of Ching Ho, and the membership in the other village is very small, amounting to only about 12% of the families. The membership of the eight village Unions is as follows :—

TABLE XLIV. MEMBERSHIP OF FARMERS' UNIONS

ORDER OF UNION	TOTAL MEMBERS
1st	18
2nd	18
3rd	18
4th	11
5th	23
6th	18
7th	11
8th	35
Total	152

Each Union is supposed to support itself financially, and to pay something in support of the district Union, but in most cases they have simply taken the position of the Association for the Protection of Groen Crops with its power of charging the land owners, so

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that really the new Unions are simply the old Association under a new name and new managment. 241 625 659

Since the student trouble all Party members have left the town, together with the organiser and his associates. No new Union has since been created, and it is doutbful whether the new leaders can hold their power for very long in face of the indifference of the people, and the reaction in favour of the leaders of the old association.